3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins.

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonisers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians.

[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26. [112] Von Ihering, 1907.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail

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[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest.

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.